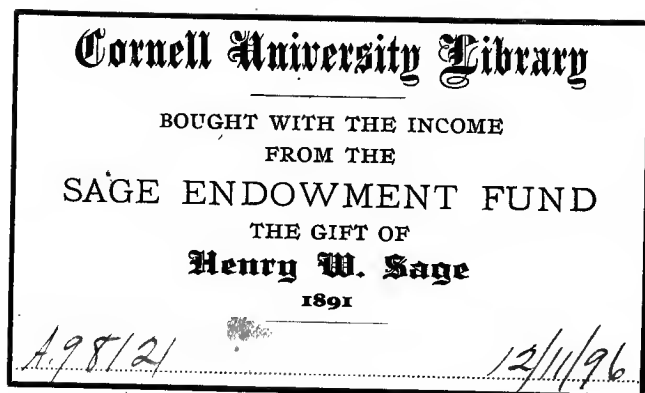


The Hamilton
Facsimiles of
Manuscripts

The Manuscript
Its Origin and Use

1425
H22+



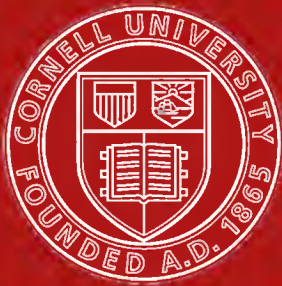
Cornell University Library
JX 1425.H22

The study of history from original source



3 1924 007 489 986

010.0ve3



Cornell University Library

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

The Study of History from Original Sources

Stanislaus Munnay
The Hamilton,
Facsimiles of
Manuscripts

IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
RELATING TO AMERICAN HISTORY

PART I

The Monroe Doctrine

Its Origin and Intent

New York
THE PUBLIC OPINION COMPANY

1896





A. 98121

Copyright, 1896, by
D. T. PIERCE
All rights reserved

IN the National Archives at Washington there are carefully preserved a large number of original manuscripts relating to the early history of the United States. Imperfect knowledge concerning them exists even among those who have devoted many years to the study of the sources of American history. From these manuscripts a careful selection has now been made for reproduction in facsimile and permanent preservation in available form. It will readily be seen that these faithful reproductions, in the exact handwriting, with all erasures, interlineations, and signatures as originally written, are of great value to all careful students of American history, to conscientious teachers, and to every patriotic American.

The present series covers correspondence between President Monroe, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Richard Rush, Minister to England, disclosing the attitude of those great statesmen towards the policy which later became a part of our National creed under the name of the "Monroe Doctrine."

S. M. HAMILTON

Washington, D. C., 1896

CONTENTS OF PART I

Letter from James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, dated October 17, 1823. Transmitting dispatches from Richard Rush, United States Minister to England, communicating letters from George Canning, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, suggesting designs of the Holy Alliance and proposing American and British co-operation in support of South American independence. Monroe asks Jefferson's opinion and requests that the correspondence be forwarded to Madison. (Facsimile of autograph original.)

Letter from Thomas Jefferson, dated October 24, 1823, in reply to President Monroe. "The question presented by the letters you have sent me, is the most momentous which has been ever offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. . . . I candidly confess that I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of states." (Facsimile of autograph draft.)

Letter from Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, dated October 24, 1823. "I forward you two most important letters sent to me by the President." (Facsimile of autograph original.)

Letter from James Madison to President Monroe, dated October 30, 1823. "I have recd. from Mr. Jefferson your letter to him, with the correspondence between Mr. Canning & Mr. Rush, sent for his and my perusal, and our opinions on the subject of it." (Facsimile of autograph original.)

Letter from James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, dated November 1, 1823. "I return the letter of the President. The correspondence from abroad has gone back to him, as you desired." (Facsimile of autograph original.)

Letter from Richard Rush to President Monroe, dated January 28, 1824. "Your letter of the 17th of December, by Mr. McRae, got to hand yesterday. . . . When Mr. Canning made his approaches to me last summer on this subject of Spanish America, I felt that it placed me in a new and difficult conjuncture. . . ." (Facsimile of autograph original.)

Extracts from President Monroe's 7th Annual Message to Congress, dated December 2, 1823, that have been cited as expressing the Monroe doctrine.

APPENDIX

Oak Hall October 17. th 1823

Dear Sir

I transmit to you two despatches, which were
reciev'd from Mr Rush, while I was lately in Washing-
ton, which involve interests of the highest import-
ance. They contain two letters from Mr Canning, suggest-
ing designs of the holy alliance, against the Independence
of ~~the~~ ^{the} 1st America, & proposing a cooperation, between
G. Britain & the latter, in support of it, against
the members of that alliance. The project, aims in the
first instance, at a mere expression of opinion, some-
what in the abstract, but which it is expected by
Mr Canning, will have a great political effect, by
defeating the combination. By Mr Rush's answer,
which are also enclosed, you will see the light in which
he views the subject, & the extent to which he may have
gone. Many important considerations are involved
in this proposition. 1st Shall we entangle ourselves,
at all, in European politics, & war, on the side of
any power, against others, presuming that a concert,
by agreement, of the kind proposed, may lead to that
result? 2^d. If & how can exist, in which a sound
may, & ought to be departed from, is not the present
instance, precisely that case? 3^d! Has not the epoch
arriv'd when G. Britain must take her stand,

Yours

Monroe James Oakhill Oct. 17. 22.

rec^d Oct. 23

on the side of the monarchs of Europe, or of the Catholics,
& in consequence, either in favor of Despotism or of Liberty,
& may it not be presumed, that aware of that misapprehension,
his government, has seized on the present occurrence, as
that, which it deems, the most suitable, to announce &
mark the commencement of that contest.

My own impression is that we ought to meet the propos-
al of the British govt., & to make it known, that we
would view an interference on the part of the European
powers, and especially an attack on the Colonies, by
them, as an attack on ourselves, perceiving that if
they succeeded with them, they would extend it to us. I
am sensible however of the extent, & difficulty of the
question, & shall be happy to have your, & Mr Ma-
rison's opinions on it. I do not wish to trouble
either of you with small objects, but the present one
is vital, involving the high interests, for which
we have so long & so faithfully, & harmoniously,
contended together. We so bend as to enclose to
him the Despatches, with an intimation of the
motive.

with great respect & regard I am dear Sir.
Your friend James Monroe

Dear Sir

Oct
Monticello ~~22~~ 26 23.

The question presented by the letters you have sent me, is the most momentous which has been ever offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. that made us a nation, this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer thro' the ocean of time opening on us. and never could we embark on it under circumstances more auspicious. our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with Cis-Atlantic affairs. America, North and South has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. she should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. while the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom. no nation, most of all, could disturb us in this pursuit; she now offers to lead, aid, and accompany us in it. by acceding to her proposition, we detach her from the band of despots, bring her mighty weight into the scale of free government, and emancipate ^{a continent} at one stroke ~~the continent~~ which might otherwise linger long in doubt and difficulty. Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one, or all, on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. with her then we should the most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship; and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause. not that I would purchase even her ~~friendship~~ amity at the price of taking part in her wars. but the war in which the present proposition might engage us, should that be it, consequence, is not her war, but ours. it's object is to introduce and establish the American system, of ~~keeping~~ keeping out of our land all foreign powers, of never permitting those of Europe to intermeddle with the affairs of our nations. it is to maintain our own principle, not to depart from it. and if, to facilitate this, we can effect a division in the body
President Monroe.

of the European powers, and draw over to our side it's most powerful member, surely we should do it. but I am clearly of Mr Canning's opinion that it will prevent, instead of provoking war with Great Britain withdrawn from their scale and shifted into that of our two continents, all Europe combined would not undertake such a war. for how would they propose to get at either one - my without superior fleets? Nor is the occasion to be slighted which this proposition offers of declaring our Protest against the atrocious violations of the rights of nations, by the interference of any one in the internal affairs of another so flagitiously begun by Buonaparte, and now continued by the equally lawless alliance, calling itself Holy.

But we have first to ask ourselves a question. do we wish to acquire to our own confederacy any one or more of the Spanish provinces? I candidly confess that I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of states. the controul which, with Florida point, this island would give us over the Gulf of Mexico, and the countries, and the isthmus bordering on it, as well as all those whose waters flow into it, would fill up the measure of our political well-being. yet, as I am sensible that this can never be obtained, even with her own consent, but by war; and it's independence, which is our second interest, (and especially it's independence of England) can be secured without it, I have no hesitation in abandoning my first wish to future chances, and accepting it's independence with peace, and the friendship of England, rather than it's association at the expence of war & her enmity.

I could honestly therefore join in the declaration proposed that we aim not at the acquisition of any of those possessions, that we will not stand in the way of any amicable arrangement between them and the mother country, but that we will oppose, with all our means, the forcible interposition of any other power, as auxiliary, stipendiary, or under any other form or pretext, and most especially their transfer to any power by conquest, cession, or acquisition in any other way.

I should think it therefore advisable that the Executive should encourage the British government to a continuance in the dispositions expressed in these letters by an assurance of his concurrence with them as far as his authority goes, and that as it may lead to war, the declaration of which requires an act of Congress, the case shall be laid before them for consideration at their first meeting, and under the reasonable aspect in which it is seen by himself.

I have been so long wearied from political subjects, and have so long ceased to take any interest in them, that I am sensible I am not qualified to offer opinions on them worthy of ~~any~~ attention but the question now proposed involves consequences so lasting, and effects so decisive of our future destinies, as to rekindle all the interest I have heretofore felt on such occasions, and to induce me to the hazard of opinions, which will prove only my wish to contribute still my mite towards any thing which may be useful to our country. and praying you to accept it at only what it is worth, I add the assurance of my constant and affectionate friendship and respect

Th: Jefferson

Phil. to P. Madison.

I forward you two most important letters sent to me by the President and add his letter to me by which you will perceive his *prima facie* views. This you will be so good as to return to me, and forward the others to him.

I have reviewed Trumbull's print of the Doctr. of Independance, & turning to his letter am able to inform you more certainly, than I could by memory that the print costs 20. D. & the frame & glass 12. D. say 32. D. in all.

To answer your question, Pythagoras has the reputation of having first taught the true position of the sun in the center of our system & the revolution of the planets around it. his doctrine, after a long eclipse, was restored by Copernicus, and hence it is called either the Pythagorean or Copernican system. health and affectionate salutations to Mrs Madison and yourself

Monkville Oct. 24. 23.

Dear Sir

Montpellier Oct. 20. 1823

I have recd from Mr. Jefferson your letter to him, with the correspondence between Mr. Canning & Mr. Rush, sent for me and my perusal, and our opinions on the subject of it.

From the disclosures of Mr. Canning it appears as was otherwise to be inferred, that the success of France at St. Spain would be followed by attempts of the Holy Alliance to reduce the revolutionized colonies of the latter to their former dependance.

The professions we have made to these neighbours, our sympathy with their liberties & independence, the deep interests we have in the most friendly relations with them, and the consequences threatened by a command of their resources by the great powers confederated against the Rights & Reforms of which we have given to conspicuous & revolutionary an example, all unite in calling for our efforts to defeat the meditated ^{of Britain} crusade. It is particularly fortunate that the policy, ^{guided by} the calculations different from ours, has presented a co-operation for an object the same with ours. With that co-operation we have nothing to fear from the rest of Europe; and with it the best reliance ^{success to} on our just & noble views. There ought not to be any backwardness therefore, I think, in meeting her in the way she has proposed; keeping in view of course the spirit
President Monroe

Spirit & force of the Constitution in every step taken in the road to war which must be the last step, if those short of war should be without avail

It can not be doubted that Mr. Canning's proposal thus made with the air of consultation as well as concert, was founded on a predetermination to take the course marked out whatever might be the reception given here to his invitation. But their consideration ought not to divert us from what is just and proper in itself. Our co-operation is due to ourselves & to the world: and whilst it must ensure success in the event of an appeal to force, it doubles the chance of success without that appeal. It is not improbable that as it would like best to have the sole mouth of ^{being the} ~~representing~~ Champion of her new friends, notwithstanding the greater difficulty to be encountered, but for the dilemma in which she would be placed. She must in that case either leave us as neutrals to extend our commerce & navigation at the expense of her, or make us Enemies by renewing her former blockades, and other arbitrary proceedings on the Ocean. It may be hoped that such a dilemma will not be without a permanent tendency to check her proneness to unnecessary wars.

Why the British Cabinet should have scrupled to arrest the calamity it now apprehends, by applying to the Treaty of France as ^{the} Spain the "^{small} easy effort" which it scruples not to employ on behalf of Spanish America, is best known to itself. It is difficult to find any other explanation than that ~~the~~ interest in the one case has

has more weight in her casuistry than principle had in the other.

Will it not be honorable to our country & possibly ^{altogether} not ^{in vain} to invite the British Gov^t. to extend the ~~disavow~~ avowed disapprobation of the project as ^{to} the Spanish Colonies, to the enterprise of France as ^{to} Spain herself; and even to join in some declaratory act in behalf of the Greeks? On the supposition that no form could be given to the act clearing it of a pledge to follow it up by war, we ought to compare the good to be done, with the little injury to be apprehended to the U. S. shielded as their interests would be by the power & the fleets of G. Britain united with their own. These are questions how ever which may require more information than I possess, and more reflection than I can now give them.

What is the extent of Mr. Canency's disclaimer of "the remaining possessions of Spain in America"? Does it exclude future views of acquiring Porto Rico &c. as well as Cuba? It leaves ^{G. B.} free as I understand it, to in relation to Spanish possessions in other quarters of the Globe.

I return the correspondence of W. R. & W. C. with assurances of the highest respect & sincerest regard
James Madison

Montfaucon Nov. 1. 1823

D Sir.

I return the letter of the President. The
correspondence from abroad has come back to him
as you desired. I have expressed to him my con-
-currence in the policy of meeting the advances
of the B. Gov^t having ^{eye to} the forms of our Con-
-stitution in every step in the road to war. With
the British power & navy combined with our own
we have nothing to fear from the rest of the Nation
and in the great struggle of the Epoch between
Liberty and despotism, we owe it to ourselves to
sustain the former in this hemisphere at least.
I have even suggested an invitation to the
B. Gov^t to join in applying this "small effort for
so much good" to the French in as coin of Spain, & to
make Greece an object of some such favorable
attention. Why Mr. Canby & his colleagues did
not sooner interpose as ^{it} the calamity & ^{it} could

not have escaped forgetful consideration were
explained but by the different aspect of the ques-
tion when it related to liberty in Spain, and to the
extension of British Commerce to her former Colonies.

• Health & every other blessing

James Madison

London January 20. 1824

Dear Sir

Your Letter of the 17th of December, by Mr McRae, got to hand yesterday, and I can scarcely find words to express to you the satisfaction which it has afforded me. When Mr Canning made his approaches to me last summer on this subject of Spanish America, I felt that it placed me in a new and difficult conjuncture, and having to decide upon it in default of instructions, and without any communion with other minds, I became proportionably anxious about the issue. Your

approbation: therefore of the course which I pursued, has relieved and comforted me greatly. I am thankful also for the sentiments which you have added upon the subject in question, as they will be of essential service to me in the conversations I shall hold with Mr Canning, though circumstances, as you will have long since learned, have much changed since the subject began between us.

The kind tone of your letter, will encourage me in the work of the reformation, in which I am now seriously embarked. My second meeting with the British plenipotentiaries takes place tomorrow. I am not sanguine as

to results; but at this moment incline to think
that more will be accomplished on the topic
of the slave trade than any other. Whenever any
incidents in the progress of this negotiation
may seem to render any communication from
me proper or desirable (aside from my regular
despatches to the secretary of state) I will
take care to write to you.

Believe me dear Sir,
with my constant
respect, your obliged
and faithful servant

Richard Rush.

President Monroe.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MESSAGE OF
JAMES MONROE, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
DATED DECEMBER 2, 1823 ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖

T the proposal of the Russian imperial government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the Minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by his Imperial Majesty to the government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The government of the United States has been desirous, by this friendly proceeding, of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor, and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖

It was stated at the commencement of the last session, that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal, to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked, that the result has been, so far, very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly, in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries, or make preparation for our defence. With the

movements in this hemisphere, we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different, in this respect, from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. (We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare, that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety.) With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But, with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. In the war between these new governments and Spain, we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur, which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this government, shall make a corresponding change, on the part of the United States, indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal, shew that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact, no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed, by force, in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question, in which all independent powers, whose governments differ from theirs, are interested; even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy, in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate

government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power; submitting to injuries from none. But, in regard to these continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent, without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our Southern Brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States, to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.



The "Holy Alliance" took formal shape in a treaty signed at Paris, on Sept. 26, 1815, between the Emperors of Austria and of Russia and the King of Prussia, acting as absolute sovereigns, without the intervention of responsible ministers or diplomatic agents. Great Britain took no part in this Alliance (although George IV., then Prince Regent, no doubt personally sympathized with it) for the reason that, by the constitution of Great Britain, the sovereign can only act through responsible ministers. The ostensible object of the Alliance was the subordination of politics to the Christian religion. The real principle however, was the establishment of jure divino autocracies, each sovereign incorporating in himself "the Christian Religion," as well as supreme political power. Had the three sovereigns who originated the scheme been able to agree they might have dominated the civilized world. But from the nature of things, three jure divino autocrats, each claiming for his opinions divine authority, could not be expected to agree permanently; and so it ultimately turned out.

Mr. Canning, in his correspondence with Mr. Rush, our Minister in England, in 1823, having suggested that the United States should take decided ground against the intervention of the Holy Alliance in South America, Mr. Monroe sent the papers to Mr. Jefferson, asking his advice.—Wharton's Digest of International Law.

Extract from the Memoirs of John Quincy Adams:—

November 15th. I received a note from Mr. D. Brent [Chief Clerk, State Department] saying that the President [Monroe] wished to see me at the office at noon. I went, and found him there. He asked for the correspondence relating to the intercourse with the British American Colonies, with a view to the particular notice which he intends to take of it in the message; which I thought should have been only in general terms. He also showed me two letters which he had received—one from Mr. Jefferson, 23rd October, and one from Mr. Madison, of 30th October, giving their opinions on the proposals of Mr. Canning. The President had sent them the two dispatches from R. Rush, of 23rd and 28th August, enclosing the correspondence between Canning and him, and requested their opinions on the proposals. Mr. Jefferson thinks them more important than anything that has happened since our Revolution. He is for acceding to the proposals, with a view to pledging Great Britain against the Holy Allies; though he thinks the Island of Cuba would be a valuable and important acquisition to our Union. Mr. Madison's opinions are less decisively pronounced, and he thinks, as I do, that this movement on the part of Great Britain is impelled more by her interest than by a principle of general liberty.

APPENDIX

JAMES MONROE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON

Oakhill, October 17th, 1823

Dear Sir

I transmit to you two despatches, which were receiv'd from Mr. Rush, while I was lately in Washington, which involve interests of the highest importance. They contain two letters from Mr. Canning, suggesting designs of the holy alliance, against the Independance of S^o. America, & proposing a co-operation, between G. Britain & the UStates, in support of it, against the members of that alliance. The project, aims in the first instance, at a mere expression of opinion, somewhat in the abstract, but which it is expected by Mr. Canning, will have a great political effect, by defeating the combination. By Mr. Rush's answers, which are also enclosed, you will see the light in which he views the subject, & the extent to which he may have gone. Many important considerations are involved in this proposition. 1st Shall we entangle ourselves, at all, in European politicks, & wars, on the side of any power, against others, presuming that a concert, by agreement, of the kind proposed, may lead to that result? 2^d If a case can exist in which a sound maxim may, & ought to be departed from, is not the present instance, precisely that case? 3^d Has not the epoch arriv'd when G. Britain must taking her stand, either on the side of the monarchs of Europe, or of the UStates, & in consequence, either in favor of Despotism or of liberty & may it not be presum'd, that aware of that necessity, her government, has seiz'd on the present occurrence, as that, which it deems, the most suitable, to announce & mark the commenc'ment of that career.

My own impression is that we ought to meet the proposal of the British gov^t & to make it known, that we would view an interference on the part of the European powers, and especially an attack on the Colonies, by them, as an attack on ourselves, presuming that if they succeeded with them, they would extend it, to us.) I am sensible however of the extent, & difficulty of the question, & shall be happy to

have yours, & Mr. Madisons opinions on it. I do not wish to trouble either of you with small objects, but the present one is vital, involving the high interests, for which we have so long & so faithfully, & harmoniously, contended together. Be so kind as to enclose to him the despatches, with an intimation of the motive.

With great respect & regard I am dear Sr,

Your friend

JAMES MONROE

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JAMES MONROE

Monticello, Oct. 24 23.

Dear Sir

The question presented by the letters you have sent me, is the most momentous which has been ever offered to my contemplation since that of Independance that made us a nation.) this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer thro' the ocean of time opening on us, and never could we embark on it under circumstances more auspicious. (our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe, 'our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with Cis-Atlantic affairs.) America, North and South has a state set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. she should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. while the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom. one nation, most of all, could disturb us in this pursuit; she now offers to lead, aid, and accompany us in it. by acceding to her proposition, we detach her from the band of despots, bring her mighty weight into the scale of free government and emancipate a continent at one stroke which might otherwise linger long in doubt and difficulty. Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one, or all, on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. with her then we should the most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship; and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause. not that I would purchase even her amity at the price of taking part in her wars. but the war in which the present

proposition might engage us, should that be it's consequence, is not her war, but ours. it's object is to introduce and establish the American system, of keeping out of our land all foreign powers, of never permitting those of Europe to intermeddle with the affairs of our nations. it is to maintain our own principle, not to depart from it, and if, to facilitate this, we can effect a division in the body of the European powers, and draw over to our side it's most powerful member, surely we should do it. but I am clearly of Mr. Canning's opinion that it will prevent, instead of provoking war. with Great Britain withdrawn from their scale and shifted into that of our two continents, all Europe combined would not undertake such a war. for how would they propose to get at either enemy without superior fleets? Nor is the occasion to be slighted which this proposition offers of declaring our Protest against the atrocious violations of the rights of nations, by the interference of any one in the internal affairs of another so flagitiously begun by Buonaparte, and now continued by the equally lawless alliance, calling itself Holy.

But we have first to ask ourselves a question. do we wish to acquire to our own confederacy any one or more of the Spanish provinces? I candidly confess that I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of states. the controul which, with Florida point, this island would give us over the Gulph of Mexico, and the countries, and the isthmus bordering on it, as well as all those whose waters flow into it, would fill up the measure of our political well-being—yet, as I am sensible that this can never be obtained, even with her own consent, but by war; and it's independance, which is our second interest, (and especially it's independance of England) can be secured without it, I have no hesitation in abandoning my first wish to future chances, and accepting it's independance with peace, and the friendship of England, rather than it's association at the expence of war & her enmity.

I could honestly therefore join in the declaration proposed that we aim not at the acquisition of any of those possessions, that we will not stand in the way of any amicable arrangement between them and the mother country, (but that we will oppose, with all our means, the forcible interposition of any other power, as auxiliary, stipendiary, or under any other form or pretext, and most especially their transfer to any power by conquest, cession, or acquisition in any other way.)

I should think it therefore advisable that the Executive should encourage the British Government to a continuance in the dispositions expressed in these letters, by an assurance of his concurrence with them as far as his authority goes, and that as it may lead to war, the declaration of which requires an act of Congress, the case shall be laid before them for consideration at their first meeting, and under the reasonable aspect in which it is seen by himself.

I have been so long weaned from political subjects, and have so long ceased to take any interest in them, that I am sensible I am not qualified to offer opinions on them worthy of any attention but the question now proposed involves consequences so lasting, and effects so decisive of our future destinies, as to rekindle all the interest I have heretofore felt on such occasions, and induce me to the hazard of opinions, which will prove only my wish to contribute still my mite towards anything which may be useful to our country. and praying you to accept it at only what it is worth, I add the assurance of my constant and affectionate friendship and respect

THOS. JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JAMES MADISON

Th: J. to J. Madison.

I forward you two most important letters sent to me by the President and add his letter to me by which you will perceive his *primâ facie* views. this you will be so good as to return to me, and forward the others to him. I have received Trumbull's print of the Dectn of Independance, & turning to his letter am able to inform you more certainly than I could by memory that the print costs 20. D. & the frame & glass 12. D. say 32. D. in all. to answer your question, Pythagoras has the reputation of having first taught the true position of the sun in the center of our system & the revolution of the planets around it. his doctrine, after a long eclipse was restored by Copernicus, and hence it is called either the Pythagorean or Copernican system. health and affectionate salutations to Mrs Madison and yourself

Monticello Oct. 24, 23.

JAMES MADISON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON

Montpellier, Oct. 30, 1823

Dear Sir

I have rec^d from Mr. Jefferson your letter to him, with the correspondence between Mr. Canning & Mr. Rush, sent for his and my perusal, and our opinions on the subject of it.

From the disclosures of Mr. Canning it appears as was otherwise to be inferred, that the success of France agst Spain would be followed by attempts of the Holy Alliance to reduce the revolutionized colonies of the latter to their former dependence.

The professions we have made to these neighbours, our sympathy with their Liberties & Independence, the deep interests we have in the most friendly relations with them, and the consequences threatened by a command of their resources by the great powers confederated agst the Rights & Reforms of which we have given so conspicuous & persuasive an example, all unite in calling for our efforts to defeat the meditated crusade. It is particularly fortunate that the policy of G Britain tho' guided by calculations different from ours, has presented a co-operation for an object the same with ours. With that co-operation we have nothing to fear from the rest of Europe; and with it the best reliance on success to our just & laudable views. There ought not to be any backwardness therefore, I think, in meeting her in the way she has proposed; keeping in view of course the spirit & forms of the Constitution in every step taken in the road to war which must be the last step, if those short of war should be without avail

It cannot be doubted that Mr. Canning's proposal tho' made with the air of consultation as well as concert, was founded on a predetermination to take the course marked out whatever might be the reception given here to his invitation. But this consideration ought not to divert us from what is just and proper in itself. Our co-operation is due to ourselves & to the world: and whilst it must ensure success in the event of an appeal to force, it doubles the chance of success without that appeal. It is not improbable that G B would like best to have the sole merit of being the Champion of her new friends

notwithstanding the greater difficulty to be encountered, but for the dilemma in which she would be placed. She must in that case either leave us as neutrals to extend our commerce & navigation at the expence of hers, or make us Enemies by renewing her paper blockades, and other arbitrary proceedings on the Ocean. It may be hoped that such a dilemma will not be without a permanent tendency to check her proneness to unnecessary wars.

Why the British Cabinet should have scrupled to arrest the calamity it now apprehends, by applying to the threats of France agst Spain the "small effort" which it scruples not to employ on behalf of Spanish America, is best known to itself. It is difficult to find any other explanation than that interest in the one case has more weight in her casuistry than principle had in the other.

Will it not be honorable to our country & possibly not altogether in vain to invite the British Gov^t to extend the avowed disapprobation of the project agst the Spanish Colonies, to the enterprize of France agst Spain herself; and even to join in some declaratory act in behalf of the Greeks? On the supposition that no form could be given to the act clearing it of a pledge to follow it up by war, we ought to compare the good to be done, with the little injury to be apprehended to the U. S. shielded as their interests would be by the power & the fleets of G. Britain united with their own. These are questions however w^{ch} may require more information than I possess, and more reflection than I can now give them.

What is the extent of Mr. Canning's disclaimer to "the remaining possessions of Spain in America"? Does it exclude future views of acquiring Porto Rico &c. as well as Cuba? It leaves G B free as I understand it, in relation to Spanish possessions in other Quarters of the Globe.

I return the correspondence of Mr. R. & Mr. C. with assurances of the highest respect & sincerest regard.

JAMES MADISON

JAMES MADISON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON

Montpellier Nov. 1, 1823

Dr Sir.

I return the letter of the President. The correspondence from abroad has gone back to him as you desired. I have expressed to him my concurrence in the policy of meeting the advances of the B. Govt. having an eye to the forms of our Constitution in every step in the road to war. With the British power & navy combined with our own we have nothing to fear from the rest of the nations and in the great struggle of the Epoch between liberty and despotism, we owe it to ourselves to sustain the former in this hemisphere at least. I have even suggested an invitation to the B. Govt. to join in applying this "small effort for so much good" to the French invasion of Spain, & to make Greece an object of some such favorable attention. Why Mr Canning & his colleagues did not sooner interpose agst the calamity w^{ch} could not have escaped foresight cannot be otherwise explained but by the different aspect of the question when it related to liberty in Spain, and to the extension of British Commerce to her former colonies.

Health & every other blessing

JAMES MADISON

RICHARD RUSH TO JAMES MONROE

London January 28, 1824

Dear Sir

Your letter of the 17th of December, by Mr McRae, got to hand yesterday, and I can scarcely find words to express to you the satisfaction which it has afforded me. When Mr Canning made his approaches to me last summer on this subject of Spanish America, I felt that it placed me in a new and difficult conjuncture, and having to decide upon it in default of instructions, and without any communion with other minds, I became proportionably anxious about the issue. Your approbation therefore of the course which I pursued, has relieved and consoled me greatly. I am thankful also for the sentiments which you have added upon the subject in question, as they will be of essential service to me in the conversations I shall hold with Mr Canning, though circumstances, as you will have long since learned, have much changed since the subject began between us.

The kind tone of your letter, will encourage me in the work of the negociation, on which I am now seriously embarked. My second meeting with the British plenipotentiaries takes place to-morrow. I am not sanguine as to results; but at this moment incline to think that more will be accomplished on the topick of the slave trade than any other. Whenever any incidents in the progress of this negociation may seem to render any communication from me proper or desirable (aside from my regular despatches to the secretary of state) I will take care to write to you.

Believe me dear sir,
with my constant
respect, your obliged
and faithful svt
RICHARD RUSH.

President Monroe.

SCHEDULE INDICATING THE CONTINUATION OF THE SERIES OF FACSIMILES

Part II. In Press, containing :

- (1) Franklin's letter to Strahan, written after the burning of Charlestown. Autograph Draft signed.
- (2) Lafayette's acceptance of his commission from the Continental Congress. Autograph original.
- (3) Pulaski offering his services in the cause of America. Autograph original.
- (4) Canons of Etiquette by Thomas Jefferson. Autograph original.
- (5) "Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation" in Washington's handwriting, aged 13. Full Autograph text.
- (6) "True Happiness," Poem in Washington's handwriting, aged 13. Autograph.

Part III. In Press, containing :

- (1) Arnold's letter to Washington after his flight and escape to the "Vulture" and that informing Washington that Arnold no longer considered himself acting under the orders of Congress. Autograph originals.
- (2) Hamilton's hurried note to Washington on Arnold's escape. Autograph original.
- (3) Letter from Gustavus (Arnold) to Mr. Anderson (Andre). Facsimile of Arnold's disguised handwriting.
- (4) Andre's letter to Washington asking for the death of a soldier and not that of the spy. Autograph.
- (5) Trial of Major Andre. Full text of original bearing signatures of the Board of General Officers.
- (6) Letter from Hannah Arnold to her brother's wife. Found among Arnold's papers at West Point.

In Contemplation

Correspondence of the Revolution, collections of the letters of General and Field Officers addressed to the Continental Congress. While these letters are mostly in the handwriting of Aides and Secretaries (who also were men of note) they are interspersed with many autograph originals. The attention of libraries and historical students is especially invited to this chapter of the facsimiles. The present intention is to reproduce separately the correspondence of each officer. For example : Montgomery, Wooster, Spencer, Greene, Schuyler, Lee, Putnam, Wayne, and others.

handwriting and over their signatures, acquire a force and reality that every intelligent person must strongly appreciate.

Another motive, and one that must appeal to the patriotism of Americans, is that many of these original manuscripts have never been reproduced, certainly not in the form that is now proposed. It cannot fail to be a source of gratification and pride to those who contribute to this undertaking to know that they are helping to perpetuate, beyond all chance of loss, the words of advice and guidance left to us by the greatest and best of American statesmen and soldiers.

At this time it is impossible to say to what extent this project may be carried out. Its continuation and ultimate accomplishment depends on the support it may receive. The price, per volume, has been placed as low as possible, in order that it may come within the reach of those who cannot afford costly works. As the work progresses its value and development will become more apparent. For these reasons the plan would seem to be entitled to the support and patronage of Americans generally. The book will be printed on heavy Dickinson hand-made paper, and substantially bound in buckram, with gilt side stamp. The first edition will number but five hundred copies, a considerable portion of which have already been sold, and the publishers would be glad to receive your orders at once, as this small edition will be exhausted within a short time from the date of publication, though no general sale will be sought for the work. The price is \$1.50.

THE PUBLIC OPINION CO.

New York, 1896.



Address all communications and make all remittances payable to
D. T. PIERCE, 13 Astor Place, New York.

CONTENTS OF PART I

Letter from James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, dated October 17, 1823. Transmitting dispatches from Richard Rush, United States Minister to England, communicating letters from George Canning, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, suggesting designs of the Holy Alliance and proposing American and British co-operation in support of South American independence. Monroe asks Jefferson's opinion and requests that the correspondence be forwarded to Madison. (Facsimile of autograph original.) Two pages.

Letter from Thomas Jefferson, dated October 24, 1823, in reply to President Monroe. "The question presented by the letters you have sent me, is the most momentous which has been ever offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. . . . I candidly confess that I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of states." (Facsimile of autograph draft.) Three pages.

Letter from Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, dated October 24, 1823. "I forward you two most important letters sent to me by the President." (Facsimile of autograph original.) One page.

Letter from James Madison to President Monroe, dated October 30, 1823. "I have recd. from Mr. Jefferson your letter to him, with the correspondence between Mr. Canning & Mr. Rush, sent for his and my perusal, and our opinions on the subject of it." (Facsimile of autograph original.) Three pages.

Letter from James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, dated November 1, 1823. "I return the letter of the President. The correspondence from abroad has gone back to him, as you desired." (Facsimile of autograph original.) Two pages.

Letter from Richard Rush to President Monroe, dated January 28, 1824. "Your letter of the 17th of December, by Mr. McRae, got to hand yesterday. . . . When Mr. Canning made his approaches to me last summer on this subject of Spanish America, I felt that it placed me in a new and difficult conjuncture, . . ." (Facsimile of autograph original.) Three pages.

Extracts from President Monroe's 7th Annual Message to Congress, dated December 2, 1823, that have been cited as expressing the Monroe doctrine.

APPENDIX

SCHEDULE INDICATING THE CONTINUATION OF THE SERIES OF FACSIMILES

Part II. In Press, containing :

- (1) Franklin's letter to Strahan, written after the burning of Charlestown. Autograph Draft signed.
- (2) Lafayette's acceptance of his commission from the Continental Congress. Autograph original.
- (3) Pulaski offering his services in the cause of America. Autograph original.
- (4) Canons of Etiquette by Thomas Jefferson. Autograph original.
- (5) "Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation" in Washington's handwriting, aged 13. Full Autograph text.
- (6) "True Happiness," Poem in Washington's handwriting, aged 13. Autograph.

Part III. In Press, containing :

- (1) Arnold's letter to Washington after his flight and escape to the "Vulture" and that informing Washington that Arnold no longer considered himself acting under the orders of Congress. Autograph originals.
- (2) Hamilton's hurried note to Washington on Arnold's escape. Autograph original.
- (3) Letter from Gustavus (Arnold) to Mr. Anderson (Andre). Facsimile of Arnold's disguised handwriting.
- (4) Andre's letter to Washington asking for the death of a soldier and not that of the spy. Autograph.
- (5) Trial of Major Andre. Full text of original bearing signatures of the Board of General Officers.
- (6) Letter from Hannah Arnold to her brother's wife. Found among Arnold's papers at West Point.

In Contemplation

Correspondence of the Revolution, collections of the letters of General and Field Officers addressed to the Continental Congress. While these letters are mostly in the handwriting of Aides and Secretaries (who also were men of note) they are interspersed with many autograph originals. The attention of libraries and historical students is especially invited to this chapter of the facsimiles. The present intention is to reproduce separately the correspondence of each officer. For example: Montgomery, Wooster, Spencer, Greene, Schuyler, Lee, Putnam, Wayne, and others.

4730 D

for C-U L. Am Hist

THE STUDY OF HISTORY FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES
THE HAMILTON FACSIMILES OF MANUSCRIPTS ❖ ❖

FROM THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES ❖ ❖
RELATING TO AMERICAN HISTORY ❖

❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖

ANNOUNCEMENT

IN the National archives at Washington, the capital city, there are countless manuscripts relating to the early history of our country. Imperfect knowledge concerning them exists even among those who have devoted many years to the study of original sources of American history. The careful student of to-day is desirous of seeing, if possible, the original manuscript in its exact handwriting, the erasures, interlineations, and signatures, in order that he may run no risk in basing his conclusions on the varying degrees of accuracy in copying and proofreading of prints. It is impossible for many persons to make an actual study of the archives. To such persons no plea is necessary for a recognition of the value of facsimile reproductions, that supply all the demands of modern historical research. To those who teach American history, either orally or by their writings, the value of such faithful manuscripts is incalculable.

It is proposed, therefore, to meet the demands of a legitimate curiosity concerning our National birth and the origin of our doctrines, by presenting to the American people the reasonings and the opinions of the founders of the Republic exactly as they were written. For one who is pursuing a study or an investigation of such questions arising in the formative period of our National life as have direct and potential influence on similar questions of to-day, there is in these facsimiles a liberal education. The lessons taught by Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, or Monroe, when conveyed in their very

